/21 cont./

137 masses, superposed one upon the other, at Tuz'z'umt, for ex-
245 ample, climbs much higher: up to more than 1,800 meters at Targa Ufella, at the foot of the ascent of the Tichka. But the limit of the olive tree is not extremely sharp. The specialist will have to determine the reasons for sporadic cases found much higher than the limit of 1,100 meters, as at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir. Local conditions permit the olive tree to grow vigorously even there, but without bearing any fruit. Inversely, the walnut tree is bound up with the high valleys, where, beginning in June, it masses its cool and fragrant foliage. It likes the axis of the ravines. Seen from above, it emphasizes it by a dense and narrow trail of foliation, forming a covered street. Thus at Iguntar. Thus also from Ad'er'ur to a. Mh'nd, or in the bucolic thicket that a. Zemlal dominates. Certainly the walnut tree is everywhere, even at Tuz'z'umt, but in an isolated state. Its true domain is affirmed beginning at 1,400 meters. Still rare at Tannsmekht, it is displayed in populations of more than 500 at once at Tasselli and especially Usikis; by the thousands in a. H'adduyws and I. Geryun. Then it climbs up to 2,350 meters.

137 Another immediately legible feature is the existence of an
133 alfa steppe which covers the red-soil plateau of the Imlilen between 800 and 1,600 meters. This vast piece of land, forming confines between Seksawa and Dwiran, is without analogue in the
[361] rest of the country that we are studying. Void of human habita-
[241] tion, it contains some scattered cultivations. It is used above all
● [233] by the herds of the Idma, who are thus spared the winter descent. A varied and fragrant pasturage, but teeming with thorns (1).

1. Plants characteristic of this horizon: Peganum Harmala, Launaea arborescens, Pulicaria mauritanica, Atriplex Halimus, Carex, Ballota hirsuta, Juncus maritimus, Lavandula maroccana, Salsola vermiculata, Stipa retorta, Artemisia herba-alba. The auri is not really one of the alfa. It is the spart, Lygeum spartum.

/25 cont./

182 241 311 from above, the villages, whose terraces slope up the length of the incline in long and narrow series, recall exactly, with their uneven and yellow color, the terraces of cultivation which neighbor them. The illusion is complete at the time of tillage. The roof of beaten earth is not treated any differently than the soil. The technique that joins it to the soil in order to resist the rain, snow, and wind better is a technique of embanking, of blockading. The village is connected to the rock. But the ground itself is architecture.

The Ground

241 311 Cultivations on the roof, cultivations on the balcony, cultivations even in the street: these three metaphors, referring to the Seksawa land considered as a city, will be contradicted neither by the reality of things nor by the vision that the customary genius has of it.

133 The roof, these are the vast planes /Fr. plans/ that crown the middle and even the high reliefs and perch at about 2,000 meters, in the silence of the mountain pastureland and of the forest, the tilled lands of man. Here is a characteristic form of this part of the Atlas. Its weak horizontality contrasts with the energy of the surrounding folding. Whether it results from erosions prior to the Tertiary movement or, on the contrary, from later alterings, this is what geologists are discussing. Nevertheless, the thing is there, 241 with all its geographical and social effects. These planes are • 233 used for pasturage and /26/ cultivation. The former succeeds the latter after the removal of the harvests, or appropriates vast domains. The high sown-fields are called lbur, an Arab term that often occurs in the toponymy (and also the forms albur, ilburan, talburt, talburin, etc.). Above 2,000 meters, and higher and higher, rye prevails. To return to the words of our montagnards, it is the Pyrenean plã or the Alpine replat. A series of Chleuh /Shluh/ words, tasila, agoni, agg^{w}mi, agodal, evoke, perhaps semantically, the same idea and correspond to the same, chiefly pastoral reality. But the pastoral movement is collective, while agriculture in the highlands is the business of some. It

241 /26 cont./ It
233 involves transport, vast displacements, for which only the rich
556 man is competent. It is therefore not for everyone that it will permit this incessant "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of our mountain peasants. Only the notable, fit for long-range conflicts, will launch out up there. Agricultural democracy reigns lower, very near the village, where it persists in its balcony horticulture. The rich man, through his associate, or his poor cousins, or his shepherds, tends the confines between cantons. On these heights, the accords, the dramas, and the truces of an international law are substituted for the valley-bottom law, narrowly municipal. Arising there from the contemplation of vast perspectives, necessary for the flocks, are strategies for expansion felt and sustained by the group the more because, along with the cultivations of the chief, it is the possession of the mountain pasturelands and the impluvium of the torrents that they put in play.

184 A completely different life style in the depths of the valley.
241 From above, one would call it a patient design, all in curves of levels. To the fawn color of the walls contrast, depending upon the season, the bright ocher of the tilled lands, the green of the young shoots, or the gold of the crops. This whole world of bright colors and minute geometries, chessboards of parcels, parallels of terraces, breaks off abruptly toward the heights, at the groove of a séguia. Beyond, and to infinity, it is schistose rock, forest, pasturage. On this side bubbles a persevering and cloistered life. In this island formed by the mountains in the bosom of the steppe, the village is itself an island. It is the island of the island. Extraordinary values of synthesis, of concentration break through here.

241 The French word balcon /balcony/ quite naturally evokes the idea of these cultivations that we also speak of as on benches, or on terraces, or on steps. It expresses well these notches on a descending surface where a little vegetation is perched on a little earth, by dint of the man's labor. It is a matter of transforming into a broken line, into horizontal steps, however tenuous they may be, the straight inclination /27/ that constitutes the slope. Through that, simultaneously control of the soil and the

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/36 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip [556] took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are 592 also most often individual. If two or even three generations live 476 together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative [233] system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true, generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is [464] assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddam, plur. [241] ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt, ooo "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif,
leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them.
And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," aggʷmi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa
flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og,
[233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Besseḇᶜ Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Ali, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[778] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
[241] tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
[233] these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclite populations,
[184] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradic-
tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of
conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military
district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the
torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines de-
scending from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id' and from Iwulla.

[184] The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful
steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a
heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether
it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast
thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of
the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
133 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
241 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
101 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
634 olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this
variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the
foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately
potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the
classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a
deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level
of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as
tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and
more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal
platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land
exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding
down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 182 634 619 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a richness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 361 619 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the [128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 101 634 [130] [233] [243] Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340 meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

/108 cont./

Pastoral Movements

233 If the agricultural and landed-property structures of the Seksawa could long since be broken up and truncated on the N.-S. axis, high and low country, it is not the same for their pastoral life. It still spreads amply beyond the edges of the mountains, and even of the piedmont. Why this privilege of the shepherd? Why this discordancy between two economies, not only complementary here -- "tillage and pasturage" -- but completely founded upon each other? The one curtailed, compressed, subdued; the other, breathing in its plenitude of space...

233 221 People have the habit of ranking the Seksawa among the oldest sedentary populations of the Maghreb: and certainly there is much truth in the statement. But, from the angle of livestock-raising, they are transhumants. Moreover, during the winter [648] transhumance, they spread among the Ud Besseba[c], Arabs who still not very firmly settled, and it is they who assume, among these cameleers, /109/ the attitude of the wandering breeder, sponging off the tillage. A change of character that should make one think. This Maghrebi antithesis between nomadism and sedentariness, the two terms of which, of course, are never found in a pure state, but which after all is one of the keys for deciphering the country, rests perhaps only on relations variable with each population considered and interchangeable to a large extent. In certain respects, one is always the nomad, or the sedentary one, of someone. The Seksawa, with their brothers of the western Haut-Atlas, briskly accumulate rights resulting from both characters. And the modest term of "transhumance," created to take account of combinations of this sort, wrongly conceals the complexity of it.

233 241 This latter further sharpens the internal contrasts between the masses, the places, the rhythms of stock-raising and those of the plateau or valley agriculture. This peasantry is old and stable, certainly. But let us be careful about the exiguity of [311] these superficialities when they are compared to the excess of pasturage that the size of the herd calls for. Less than 3,500

/109 cont./

233 hectares of cultivations, as against livestock amounting to 4,000
241 bovines, 20,000 ovines, 30,000 caprines. Also bearing in mind
[311] the practice of fodders, stabling, and transhumance, what counts in the landscape, for one who can see it -- and in any case for one who sees it with a local eye -- is the domain of the herd.

133 This domain starts below the calcareous entablatures that
233 separate, to the E., the Seksawa from the Dwiran, with the mamilliform expanse of the Imlilen, an enormous stretch of alfa steppe wedged into the mountains. Farther upstream, the counterforts of the axial chain. The forest there has retreated. Its role must have been more important formerly than at present. Still higher, between 2,500 and 3,000 meters, the mountain pastures, such as the Azur, the Tabgurt, or the Tichka. Three levels of pasturage, to which should be added a "ground floor": the Ud
233 Besseb[illegible]c plain. As concentrated and vigorous, as rich in institutions as the peasant life of the valley is, and as characteristic as its projection in high crops on the bare domes or the clearings is, it is the exception, and the pastoral space the rule. Old testimony will help to rectify the view on this point. It is that of Léon l' Africain /Leo Africanus/. He sees the Seksawa only as
[114] shepherds perhaps, it is true, on the evidence of an etymology, or from an Italian pastoral enthusiasm: but his testimony is there (1).

1. Description de l'Afrique, Schefer tr., 1896, t. I, pp. 222 sq.

Doubtlessly it would be inexact and paradoxical to insist too much on such an aspect: only putting it back into proportion interests us.

233 /110/ Let us pass now to a second contrast that appears in
221 the techniques of this breeding, between the solidity of foundations that an ancestral habitude of stabling supposes and the mobility of the herd. Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect

233 /110 cont./ Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect
22 the size of the veritable displacement of peoples which the
[171] ᶜachâba is in the Algerian South (1),

1. A. Bernard and N. Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie, 1906, pp. 36 sq., on the sui generis law of ᶜachâba. Suggestive description of this displacement in E. Fromentin, Un été dans le Sahara /A summer in the Sahara/, 3rd ed., 1874, pp. 229 sq., and the Cl Villot, Moeurs, coutumes et institutions des Indigènes de l'Algérie /Mores, customs, and institutions of the natives of Algeria/, 1888, 3rd ed., pp. 383 sq. Let us add to this magnificent gallery of Algerian studies the work of L. Lehuraux.

or the slipping S.E.-N.W., followed by the fanning out of the ovine tribes of the Moyen Atlas (2).

2. J. Célérier, "La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas /Transhumance in the Middle Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 53 sq.

Doubtlessly also it is now a matter only of the transhumance of professionals and not of the whole household, and that confers on the movement an import more economic than social. But that is perhaps only a decline. At any rate this veritable strewing of animals and men, which spreads the herds of the high valleys quite far into the plain every winter, is an important sign. And the contrasts -- at the very least immediate and tangible -- that have just been raised offer a not negligible grasp on the intimacy of the institution.

231 Now let us approach this pastoral life under its most sedentary
24 aspect, in its articulation with the mountain horticulture. Its
[342] liaison with the latter is fundamental. It manifests itself even in the house, where the human habitat and the animal habitat

675 /112 cont./
221 by the users themselves. This is, moreover, not a trait especial-
178 ly Maghrebi. Elsewhere, too, these arrangements reflect an "old, almost imperfectible technique" (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 19.

which has struck all observers of the altitude life.

233 A problem that this society presents to us as settled once and
241 for all is in any case that of the marginal relations between the pasturage and the tillage (2).

233
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171 2. The difficulty of these relations and the historical incidence of these very difficulties is one of the themes of the great work by Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931. The same guiding thread, for Spain, in the study of J. Klein on La Mesta /The Association of Livestock Raisers/; for the Maghreb, in that of Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1905; for Sardinia, M. Le Cannou sees there the explanation for the famous system of the "vidazzoni," Pâtres et paysans de Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, pp. 134 sq. On the "spirit of pasturage," R. Dion, Essai sur la formation du paysage rural français /Essay on the formation of the French rural countryside/, 1934, p. 55.

/112 cont./

233 241 625 A very delicate matter in an arboricole country and one which is attached to goats. Our foresters manage with great difficulty. In the montagnard customs, the problem is resolved by an institution of municipal police, that of the amchchard'u, plur. imchchurd'a, personage whose word is trusted and, through that, adhered to unanimously by the users. This institution is of a delicacy and a sensibility contrasting strongly with the contentious nature of our analogous institutions: rural constable, forest warden, or game warden. But it implies an order, preliminary and subjacent to the commutative law. By that, this society resolves one of the most difficult problems, that of the relations between the breeder and the plowman, a problem that all Semitic civilizations have had to deal with, were it within the dramatic species of the conflict between Cain and Abel.

233 221 34 /113/ On the mountain pasture, constructions in dry stone, crowded into sometimes complicated networks, adaghas, plur. indughas, mark a regular installation. Their commonly given Arabic equivalent is lḥzib. The land documents give another doublet, minhal = asggun, plur. isg^{w}an, "transhumance enclosure." These edifices stud in characteristic fashion the brows such as that of the Tasila, Tichka, Azur, etc. Thus it is that on the Tichka the idughas of Igenfis, for example, consist of very low constructions, with dry stone walls, with a roof of branches filled in with sheep dung. The whole is unstable in equilibrium and collapses from time to time. From the first cold spells, the shelter becomes insufficient, and the lambing suffers losses; the stay in the mountain pastures must be curtailed, it is time to go back down.

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Practice of the agg^{w}mi, "pasture in defense"

Name of the taqbilt	Name of the village	Place of pasture	Duration of the placing in defense	Comments
I. Geryun.	The ensemble.	Tichka (also called Tuchka).	From snowfall to a yulyuz date conventional among tribes.	International pasture.
a. H'ad-duyws.	Tasa.	Amerdul.	March-July.	Custom of the talddrar.
	Fensu.	Aziwal.	--	
Iguntar.	The ensemble.	Talburt n-H'sayn.	--	
a. Lh'sen.				
a. Mh'nd.				
Idma.	Asikis.	Agersili.	--	Custom of the talddrar.
Imt'ddan.	Ad'erd'ur.	Tasila.	--	
	Anchkrir.	Inraren Z'dinin.	--	
	Tasselli.	Tameksut.	--	
	The ensemble.	Afuzar.	--	

221 233 241 [634] This short-term transhumance, where one does not leave the limits of the canton, is a sort of amplifying commentary on the valley-bottom life. It takes place at the end of the summer and lasts as long as possible: until the rain and frost are heaviest. In a general fashion only the shepherds take part in it. But the proximity of the village makes the visits of the master frequent.

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/ or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[361] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the
[346] form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products
[262] and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'ad-duyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/, on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for cer-tain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt.
[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

/114 cont./

233 221 648 weak part pushes toward the Dwiran-Ud Besseba[C] confines, yet without reaching, as does the herd of the more easterly tribes, the well-known ground of the Lmjjûn. The larger part scuds along toward the W. Through the pass of the Amjnas, it reaches, in lower Mtugga, the grounds of Amskennid', of Sidi [C]Abdel-mumen (already hagiologically related to the Haut Dwiran), of Berdami, of the Id'ergan. Still farther, it crosses the Jebel Kharruba, and, skipping over the collection of Zahr u T'âmer, it stops among the Ud Besseba[C], on their Jbayl "mountainettes" (1).

1. If pasturage is poor in Ud Besseba[C], the movement is indeed even greater. The herd from the western Dir flows largely into a. Iggas, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ into Chyâd'ma, up to the sea. That from the Haouz climbs back into Chaouia. In 1952, this return to the old wandering of the shepherd, and also to his privilege, was sometimes practiced according to the most modern modalities: the renting of farmers' lands far in the N., rapid transport of the sheep by truck.

[178] [427] [494]

The herd that descends from the Dwiran and /115/ the Mez'ud'a also splits into two branches. But its angle of divergence and the distance of its objectives are much greater, because on the one side it reaches the Lmjjûn, on the other Sidi Mokhtar, on the Mogador route, and even farther, the tribe of the H'mer. Moreover, the latter, albeit rarely, stays in autumn in the lower valleys of the Wâd l-Ibûr, of the Lqihra, and the lower Mez'ud'a. But those are isolated cases. The rule is the irreversibility of the movement of hibernal descent from the mountain to the plain. On the other side of the peak, from the N. to the S., some a. H'adduyws herds descend in winter into the valley of the Sous, to

/115 cont./

233 221 648 the azaghar of the a. Iggas; the converse is never true. Besides, this subsidiary direction rather has the value of a historical indication. But in both cases the important fact is the asymmetry of the relations between the Atlas and the plain of the Haouz.

233 221 171 This asymmetry is not a fact peculiar to this part of Morocco. It is found again in other domains (1).

1. R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /Geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 52. According to P. Deffontaines, art. cit., "the pastoral mountain appears primordial and it has remained preponderant for a long time in the whole Mediterranean basin" (p. 25). As proof, the organization of the Castilian mesta /associating of cattle raisers/, the lies et passeries of the thirteenth century (p. 31). In the Alps, on the contrary, the pastoral life must concentrate on itself (p. 26).

But here it is all the more striking inasmuch as it is a question of transhumance from the mountain to the plain, thus the opposite of what the geographers quite arbitrarily call the normal type. Here, to speak as they do, it is an inverse transhumance (2).

2. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 31. And nevertheless, in Sardinia, for example, where this institution plays such a great role, it is the mountain flocks that descend to the plain, cf. Le Lannou, Pâtres et paysans de la Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, p. 174. See the criticisms addressed by F. Braudel to this expression, La Mediterranée... /The Mediterranean.../, pp. 38 sq.

/115 cont./

233 221 640 But although this problem is enclosed within very wide perspectives, perhaps certain historical features will confer a more personal physiognomy on it. It is a fact that today the irreversibility of the movement has no explanation in the eyes of the people of the plain, struck by its inconsistency. But who knows whether it does not find its counterpart in the irrigation? The [312] mountain tribes are masters over letting the water pass or not. A low-water custom and a high-water custom, applying different rates, govern the hydraulic and human relations, on both parts of the Dir. Perhaps also one might think that the ascent would not be favorable to the plains livestock, accustomed to a more /116/ clement temperature. Finally, the possibility of empty pasturage in the ample grain-lands of the plain exempts the tribes from below from going to search elsewhere. They consequently no longer desire the use of the high sectors and are not interested in it.

Nevertheless these explanations have left aside a fact more profound, although infinitely less clear: the solidarity between the mountain and the plain, point of departure of the present chapter. For what one finds here is a relation in a unique sense, singularly richer than the simple economic connection. Evidently, economic relations are largely outrun in the matter by other necessities, other habitudes, other feelings, other images. As proof, the political character of the relations that are established between tribes for the dispositon of sectors indispensable to their movements. The fact is known for the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, where it has conditioned all the demographic evolution and the distribution of powers in the mountains or plateaus, from the Jebel ᶜAyachi to Fès and Meknès. But even in the zone that concerns us, recent incidences of these two orders of phenomenon one on top of the other have not been lacking.

578 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Although it may go beyond the chronological cadre, and only by title of example, let us note that the possession of the Tichka, disputed among Seksawa, a. Tkssit, Ijjanaten, Idaw Mçat't'ug, etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent confliot.

/116 cont./
000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been aban-
doned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
"That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the
Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to
go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhu-
mance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used
already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in
the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: çaheb or amddak-
221 k^{w}el. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of
favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people.
Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the
man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization
to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional
naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the
grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his ar-
rival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up"
/Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb
used in the expression sbidd l^{c}ar, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

/117 cont./

571 431 233 221 we are far from such emotional intensity). It is generally some loaves of sugar as a gift and occasionally, depending upon the importance of the parties and interests in question, a head of small livestock. Over and above that, the appreciable counterpart of the manure. All the collective and individual varieties appear in the relations of proximity thus established. They last several months between the partners, while the shepherd alone remains fixed. The owner makes only periodic appearances. A [634] "good shepherd," like the amghar of the Haut Seksawa still at present, multiplies his visits: inspection tours, patriarchally joined with proceedings of agreement and friendship. Another such, from the I. Geryun, married an Ud Besseba^{c} girl and thus, through love of his flock, did not hestitate to submit himself to the troublesome subtleties of the notariate of the plain any more than to risk the experience of an Arab marriage. All these relations are in fact marked with a good nature doubtlessly inherent in the pastoral life, since, long after the pre-Islamic poets, it further wrings from the moderns the most lyric of descriptions.

174 221 233 The winter movement, affecting especially the Haut Seksawa, proceeds on these Pyrenean or Alpine models which, although decadent and no longer achieving the amplitude of former times, are nonetheless repeated all around the Mediterranean. Here the reasons are probably above all historic and are related to the exceptional density of life that the Atlas has preserved above the warm and steppe plains. Since the Moroccan lower Middle Ages, these plains have been the theater of much larger pastoral migrations, like that of the Sofyān from the Sous to the Haouz and to the Chaouīa. The contact between these two rhythms, when the two confront each other still in the pure state, in the fourteenth century, for example, must have produced political and cultural interferences. The "alliances" noted by [571] the chroniclers between montagnards and Hilalians or Ma^{c}qil, to the N. as well as to the S. of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, were [171] probably of this order. It has been observed elsewhere, in the Pyrenees, for example, to what point /118/ these relations of plain to mountain, the most important of which is the one that

/118 cont./

104 221 233 171 the pastoral exchanges establish, have acted on the political structures. That is, in the epochs when these movements of flocks reached an amplitude as considerable as from the Sous to the Gharb, for example, did an organization comparable to that of the Spanish mesta arise? There is nothing of it. Whether the trait be old or new, we find nothing in Morocco that resembles the prodigious institutional life that for five centuries developed in Spain around these migrations (1).

1. Let it suffice for us, on this point, to refer to the masterly work of Julius Klein, La Mesta, Barcelona, 1936, in which the vast Mediterranean correspondences of the phenomenon described have not been overlooked. The Spanish case no less presents a great originality, as much by its geographical scope as by the colossal historical organization that it reveals, and which is of unilateral advantage in many respects for the shepherd. The contemporary period reacts against this privilege. There is nothing more enlightening than to compare the map of pp. 34-35, a map of the routes of transhumance and of the vast official placings in defense, or dehesas, with what could be reconstituted of a medieval Maghrebi stage.

221 233 571 634 In the present stage, we see here only unwritten relations, plunging into a haziness that little by little the evolution of the whole country belies. The migratory route does not have a firm basis, the relations between shepherds and cities are not clearly delineated, and, all the more reason, no magistrature, like that of the Spanish entregador, comes to specify the matter. Not only does the Moroccan transhumance rest at the stage of unwritten tradition and discourage codification, but it is not at the level, or is no longer at the level, of the technique of purely cantonal

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233
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634 /118 cont./
or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for example.

It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

[171]

2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other
174 survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of
648 snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and
[634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

/131 cont./

The Agricultural Calendar

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241 Despite the wild irregularity of the rains, despite the element of constancy introduced by the irrigation, the peasantry of the Atlas remains faithful to the notion of agricultural period. Undoubtedly a question of vegetation cycles: the growth of barley takes six months; that of maize, three months. And probably also, a question of high waters and of low-water marks. In this country without lasting snows, the reduction of the sources forces the crops to adapt to the diminution of the supply from May to September. It is thus with good reason that one can follow here the classical description of the unfolding of the campaign month by month. /The rest of this subsection, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./

Chutanbir (September) is a prelude. If it rains, one takes advantage of it for tillage, in spite of the date of the "favorable tillage," amud ih'allan, which does not come until 17 uktuber (October). The earlier the sowing, the more abundant the harvest, thinks the montagnard, not without reason. "September, [539] get busy," the proverb whispers to him: chutanbir chuch t'ebber. In any case, it is the time when the fertilizer, the farming implements are prepared. /132/ One knocks down the walnuts, one [233] gathers the Barbary figs. The livestock breeders of the high cantons keep their herds in the mountain pastures: they will hold them there until the time of the hibernal transhumance, except in case of excessively bad weather. In 1951, September ended [796] with the šchura or amačhur. Fire rites, water rites in the villages. People jump over braziers, they sprinkle themselves with water. In some a. Lh'sen villages, they strike each other with azzunt'i, nettles. Rite or game? The celebration releases an epidemic of marriages and legal proceedings.

Uktuber, classic month for the opening of the cereal cycle. The rain falls, the torrents are aroused. Wa-nna iran amud, [539] yasi-t-ann, "whoever wants to sow only has to do so." The 17th [178] inaugurates the sowings: just a generation ago, no one would have dared to violate the regulation. Contemporary experience

/132 cont./

221 241 178 has proved that it was better to take advantage of the rain: "but things have changed." The amghar, a substantial cultivator, deplored before me that this principle, which he deems of religious essence, is being transgressed more and more, while the practices of the opening of tillage, with the distribution of dry fruits, breaking of bread, etc., which he devoutly qualifies as idolatry, laçnam, continue to be favored. The more so as they will not run counter to any economic opportunity. The good old times are disappearing.

221 241 Nuwanbir, "November." Except during the unfavorable period of the thirteen days of lqâleb, the tillage continues. From October 17th to December 10th, there is the "early" cultivation, amenzu, then the "middle," arbâi. The harvest of olives begins in a. Lh'sen, a. Abdella, a. Musa.

[539] Dujanbir. "There is December: the cold closes discussion," Dujanbir aya ikks us'emmid' awal. This society is actually badly equipped to bear it. Snow covers all the heights. After the tenth, however, the "late" cultivation of cereals, amazuz, begins. In principle, it lasts up to February 20th, in Seksawa country and in the plain. Sometimes even much later, even into March, and almost up to the first harvests: such is the immorality of the game that the hazards of the climate impose on the cultivator! The [233] montagnards continue to send their animals into the plain. Stabling for the bovines, pasture in a short radius around the village are the lot of those that remain.

[196] Yenneyr, "January." After the immemorial ceremonies of the solar new year, the peasant who has finished his sowing rests: inna ira ku-yan ikk, "wherever he wants to, he may go," proclaims the dictum, which omits, and for cause, the patient spots to be weeded, unfortunately too little favored, and the care of the plantings. The latter go on all alone, as people believe. [539] And nevertheless the shrewd man knows that the campaign is already advancing: tlekmek tafukt n-f^{w}brayl, a-yamekraz n-yenneyr: "Beware of the sun of February, plowman of January." The time has come to begin to clean out the ditches and to cut the "green barley," àg^{w}las, for fodder.

/132 cont./

221 24 [539] [233] F^{w}brayl, "February," will decide the fate of the campaign. The proverb assures igh tswa gh-f^{w}brayl, ar kullu tjjint imrayr, "it rains in February: healer of troubles"; dry February: aggravation. For the livestock breeder, the milking starts. The "whey," aghu, the "butter," udi, come to the point /133/ to permit "la soudure" /the welding, the union, the joint/ between the provisions that are exhausted, the souq /sook/, which becomes dearer, and the still uncertain harvest.

Mars, "March," begins the sowing of the early maize, millet, still grown occasionally, and garden vegetables. The epoch [233] of the planting is finished. The shearing and the castration, both very primitive, are undertaken. Notably in a. Abdella, the effect of the first warm weather helping, the harvest, if I may venture to say it, will ripen in succession: hardly a pause between the amenzu and the amazuz. In the high cantons, the [539] persistent coolness dissociates the two periods. March is absolutely decisive: mars as-tt-id ih'ya, negh tt-inn iluh': "it vivifies or loses everything." Other significant dicta, mars imerç ten-d a^{w}kk, "March brings them all together" (the course of the seasons), or: inna mars i-yiran: ggawrat igh ennghligh: "March says to the other months: Peace you others, if I proceed well."

Ibril, "April," the harvest starts officially on the 15th. In [539] the plain at least. For the mountain always waits. This is what a picturesque adage expresses: ibrin gh-uzaghar, ih'una berren gh'udrar igh-d-id' er ugherd'a zegh-tgejda ibbaqqi gh-wakal. "From the boiling in the plain, from the emptiness in the chambers of the mountain: if a rat falls there from a joist, it remains on the square of ground." "Beneath the bundles" of the barley itself, the maize n-ddu tadla appears to be the best. The cultivation of vegetables is intensified: eggplants, tomatoes, gourds, turnips, at least wherever this variety still prevails. The a. H'adduyws give their mountain fields an irrigation and harvest what they have in the plain. Inversely, and since March, the first grains harvested in the plain were used to seed the soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/ of barley of Agersili, free

/133 cont./

221 of their snow. Generally, from the middle valley going upstream,
241 this is the time, the rivers visibly falling, when one begins to
[312] put water in the séguias. Up until then, each one served himself at his discretion, where the rain, or moisture owing to the long snow-cover, did not make all irrigation useless or detrimental. For the livestock breeder, it is the return from the plains
● [233] transhumance. Continuation of the shearing and castrations in a. Abdella and a. Lh'sen.

Mayyu, "May": it is barely spring in the high cantons, where the cultivation of early barley starts about the 15th. The
[233] livestock breeder sells his wool and standing animals. He is suspicious of the morning pasturage, when the dew hides lghechch, "the spearwort." From the 1st to the 13th, it is "the Aldebaran," ddabaran, an important moment in the agricultural rhythms. One considers that after this time the fructification of the almond trees is definitive; this entails many consequences in the customs and the "judiciary year."

Nunyuh, "June," marks the beginnings of the maize harvest in a. Abdella. The cereal grower must have sheaved all of his harvest on the threshing floors. The 14th, which coincides with the celebration of lânçrt, closes the sowing of late maize.

Lulyuz, "July," sees nearly everywhere threshing, irrigation of the maize, cultivation of the turnip, carrots, and now potatoes. The gathering of almonds starts in Bab /Lower/ Seksawa.
[233] After the 10th, the livestock breeders of the high cantons reach the mountain pastures. They will remain there /134/ somehow or other until the hibernal descent, despite phases of stabling.

Ghucht, "August," month of winnowing. The maize is harvested in a. Abdella, a. Lh'sen, and a. Musa. It will not be done until October in the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. The peasant busies himself with the irrigation of his turnips and his carrots. The olive trees fructify. But it is also, in general fashion, the
[574] season of the great gatherings, of the patronal feasts whose cycle embraces all of the western Dir.

[820] Month of closing: mayuh, nunyuh, lulyuz, wayyahu; ghucht,
[539] uhu, "May, June, July: keep going; but August: done." But it is

241 237 343 /164 cont./ When there is an abundance of these curious silos on the plain, punctuating the esplanade of stubble fields whose individual appurtenances they mark, the ensemble from afar gives the impression of a material spangled with press-studs. However that may be, this going-and-coming is so uneconomical that one is tempted to compare it, as to origins, with some rite of exposition of the fruit on the soil or of appropriation by signs. It is certain, in fact, that the virtue of a manure subjected to such insolation is weakened. On this point the peasant of the Dir is behind the one of the Géorgiques /Georgics/.

Livestock Breeding and Arboriculture

245 824 At least he shares with him the belief in the perfect spontaneity of the tree. While he devotes a whole book to the vine, the poet disposes of the olive tree in a few words: contra non ulla /165/ est olei cultura..., and he passes to the trees and wild bushes furnishing berries and leaves. Similarly, let us remember that the Seksawa are people of the forest. They do not conceive of the cultivated tree as discontinuous with the tree of the tagant, with which it is so often mixed. Common species make a transition between the one type and the other: for example, the carob, with precious pods. To a lesser degree, the oak with the acorn, which nourishes animal and man, and the modest and obliging opuntia aknari. The forest, in a way, is the place where two techniques, and two spirits, are joined: livestock breeding and horticulture. And it is not because of a taste for paradox that the present section was entitled with a binomial of terms that would clash so much in the European conception. For the latter, in fact, the animal is the enemy of the tree. Especially the goat. We are not in the coastal zone where the argan tree sometimes tolerates, and without perishing, the so amusing trimmings of animals browzing on its foliage. But here even the ends of young branches, the acorns, the juniper berries, fresh or preserved,

245 233

/165 cont./
245 offer a wealth of fodder for the flock. A veritable "aerial mead-
233 ow" (1).

(114)

1. The expression is Algerian: Rivière and Lecq, op. laud., t. I, p. 235. Cf. t. I, ibid., pp. 207 sq., and also t. II, pp. 13 sq., an excellent description of the wild forage-flora in North Africa.

It is true that this conjunction between livestock breeding and arboriculture yields immediately to vehement differences in style, going as far as contrast: but this contrast is precisely not of European type. In the Atlas, it is the livestock breeding that is knowing and careful, and the arboriculture offhand, and, as we might say, extensive.

233 The flock gives the impression of a profound adaptation to the country. The sturdiness of the goats, their agility in providing for their subsistence in the most difficult and poorest reliefs make them a redoubtable adversary of the forest. The bovines are small and sturdy. The ovines belong to the same stock as those of the Tubkal, of the Tidili, of the Sirwa: bare legs, head and shoulders relatively high above the feet, the aquiline profile on the ram.

(232) The percentage of black coats corresponds to systematic research on the part of the breeder: the beginning of selection. The latter, to tell the truth, most often operates backwards, the best-developed animals being precisely destined for slaughter. The fat lamb is in fact either a small deposit that is changed into money or the material of numerous family or social rites. Fiduciary economy or feasting thus comes here to limit the technique of the livestock breeder. That is, moreover, a general Maghrebi trait.

However that may be, the practice of sheltering, the ensilage of feed, the /166/ cultivation of fodder, the putting in defense endow the system with all the elements of a modern organization. The animal marvelously performs his role as the provider of meat, of substances to spin, and of fatty materials, tamudit, ultimately
000 coinciding with the product of the olive tree. Milk is never

234 /166 cont./ Milk is never
[262] consumed directly; a prejudice, maintained by the women, is opposed to it, with the avowed goal of turning it all into butter. The preservation of this commodity, subjected to salting and melting, is indefinite; it is passed off as improving with age, just like wine. Certainly our pastoral societies extend these resources by a substantial gamut of cheeses, which is not known here. A serious gap; it is hardly the case, in the course of the high pasturage, that the shepherds make more or less clandestinely, by adding to the milk the juice of the fig or that of certain plants, what they call takʷmmart (1).

[191] 1. This is the same name that the Ahaggar dialect gives it. The Touareg /Tuareg/ know and utilize the hardened cheese, capable of being carried and pounded.

232 The procedure is retarded, not only in relation to ours, of course,
233 but even in relation to those of the Arab transhumants of North
[191] Africa or of the Touareg /Tuareg/. Besides, although it is not ignorant of a barbarous method of castration, native technique incurs criticism by its blind confidence in biological increase, subject to such terrible hazards. The goat, the sheep, and, to a much lesser degree, the bovine have assumed a monetary value, symbolic in a way, and their multiplication is not regulated according to either the possibilities of pasturage or the climatic
[171] incertitude. Another general trait in the Maghreb.

These are serious weaknesses. But the coherence and the care outweigh this for the breeder, both in relation to the other divisions of his economy and in relation to the breeders of the plain.

245 Opposite to this, the precariousness of the tree.

Almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees prosper or perish without the work that would be suitable for them. Naturally, they participate, like all other crops, in the preoccupation with water. One notices, for example, the almond trees having fallen to a zone higher than the irrigated, the care with which they are often placed against a supporting wall of dry stones in order to gather in

/172 cont./

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/footnote 2 continued/ E. de Martonne, Traité de géographie physique /Treatise on physical geography/, t. III, 5th ed., 1932, Biogeography, pp. 1245 sq., and especially M. Cépède, Du prix de revient au produit net en agriculture /From the cost price to the net product in agriculture/, 1946, pp. 347 sq. "How to judge a system of cultivation?" The equation proposed evidently does not take into account the values attached subjectively by the milieu to such and such production. The phytosociological notion of climax thus has some vigorous moral components.

One will be reduced to comparing them with the data established by the observation of a single sector; their hierarchy in the native system itself will offer the least uncertain criteria. In the Maghrebi studies an abstraction of the interpretations and /173/ elaborations of the Maghrebi man has too often been made. It will have been a constant theme of our research to restore them
● 233 to their true place. And here they offer us a precious value judgment: their preference for livestock breeding.

These ancient sedentary ones, these patient villagers are above all shepherds (1).

[191]

1. In another montagnard milieu, although completely different, the French Alps, livestock has been "the very principle of Alpine life" (Arbos, cited by R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 50). Pastoral alternations have formed the oldest basis of the habitat (ibid., p. 90). Cf. in this sense J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 13 sq.

[433] The flock clothes, nourishes, heats the house, and, with its manure, remakes the soils. It occupies the major position in all this

/173 cont./

233 433 economy. Bearing in mind the hazards of fruit arboriculture and the mediocrity that blemishes the cereal yields, it is considered the major source of subsistence. Central in relation to the other elements of production, it is the one that, in its alternations of mountain pastures on the heights, stabling in the village, and distant transhumance, brings about the junction between the city of man and the space that surrounds it. In sum, it forms the unity of the countryside. Its synthesis value is felt, and one must not be surprised by the primacy of interest that tradition confers on it. Its excesses -- overtaxing the pastures and, finally, destruction of the land -- are never envisaged. Or rather, by the infinite agility of its effective forces, it appears as the most appropriate procedure for sponging the last resources from the soil. Even the devastations of hunger, cold, and sickness are considered as bringing about an automatic regulating. In other words, this society exploits to the last consequences what might be called an ecology of the domestic animal. In livestock breeding it finds [182] a middle term between its tendency to the demographic maximum and the resistance of the milieu (2).

2. Cf. A. Sauvy, Théorie générale de la population /General theory of the population/, 1952, vol. I, chap. I, pp. 9 sq.; cf. also, on a more directly agricultural plane, the interesting reflections of M. Cépède, Du prix ..., pp. 246 sq., chap. on "L'homme et la nature /Man and nature/." According to him, the pastoral economy is "victime du concept d'infinité" /victim of the concept of infinity/, p. 258, that is, of the belief in an infinitely extensive resource for the movements of the flock. To the limit, "surpécoration" /pecora, plural of the Latin pecus, "cattle," figuratively means "stupid persons," hence the expression here can be taken as "excessive livestock" and "excessive stupidity"/, id., op. cit., p. 258.

233 /173 cont./
182 The flock expresses a living equilibrium between man and country. From which arises the fact that it is endowed with moral values, and probably ritual ones.

312 Secondly, the native techniques are concerned with irrigation. But there, as has been seen, they depend on collection rather than hydraulic creation. The energy and the shrewdness of the system for collecting the wild waters, directing them, and administering them fail and resign before any attempt tried in order to make new resources appear. It is not the lack of success in this /174/ difficult domain that should strike us here, but the relative inferiority that is revealed by it in relation to the art that the same people manifest in leading the precious liquid for some distance and according to tactics whose success astonishes us. This art of circulation carried to incredible lengths becomes no more than inertia and inconstancy in the creation.

245 As for the fruit tree (1),

[171]

1. Vidal, Principes ..., 1922, p. 83, sees an old Mediterranean idea in the primacy of shrubby cultivations. But he sees just as profoundly an even more archaic type in the arboriculture in the dry, which corresponds here to the almond tree, to the carob tree.

the native poorly succeeds in dissociating it from the forest. Certain species, which come by themselves, or are considered such, put one on the wrong scent. The general antiquity of the planting, the irregularity resulting from unnamed ailments or parasites, from the water, the wind, from chance, or from the favor of occult powers make arboriculture, at least in what concerns the walnut, almond, and especially the carob, a resource as little constructed as that of the forest. It is not the same for the olive tree, which here, as elsewhere on the Mediterrannean periphery, has its civic and almost moral value. But if one compares its techniques, the tools utilized, to what they are elsewhere, in the Tunisian Sahel, for example, the same impression of deficiency results for the Atlas.

/174 cont./

233 241 182 Primacy of livestock breeding, arboriculture of gathering, irrigation that is a collection and administration rather than a hydraulic one: the important fact is the hierarchy according to which the system is conceived. It is remarkable that these archaic peasant societies, the most authentically sedentary of all the Maghreb, the most obstinately stuck to the soil, and in which we sometimes seek the vestige of what in other epochs could have been a rural life more widely master of the North African plains, are concerned above all with the flock and its periodic rhythms. This creator of soils, this subtle administrator of water, is a routine irrigator, mediocre cereal-cultivator, evasive arboriculturalist, an even worse market-gardener. By a kind of paradox, his technicality, which asserts itself fully in the difficult problems of the constitution of the soil and the distribution of the water, slackens in putting to work the resources thus released. It asserts itself, one might say, in inverse proportion to a logic of adding value.

121 171 [233] Can one try to explain this pastoral primacy? It is known that, lost in the darkness of time, even in the Europe of the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/, it is a phenomenon of this sort that would provide the explanation for rural structures still characteristic. In the case with which we /175/ are concerned is it then simple prehistoric survival? Such an explanation poses more problems than it resolves. We shall not stop there. Similarly, would the problem be advanced by invoking the existence of a montagnard character, to relate it to traits of the same genre observable in the Alps and Pyrenees? In this case, it is no longer by an excess of hypothesis, but by too much modesty that the answer would be deficient. An explanation more appropriate for the milieu studied would attribute the contrasts of this peasantry to its hesitation between Mediterranean traits, preserved by the altitude, and African desert influences which press in on it from all sides (1).

1. Another "Berbère" /Berber/ montagnard milieu, that of the Ahaggar, likewise

[Ait Mh'nd]

166 /180/ Moh'ammed u Ah'med n-a. Umzil (45 years old) has
159 been settled since his youth at Bulᶜwân, as a client of the amghar. He has built himself a house and is considered a man of the country, although his wife is also from the a. Mh'nd. He considers himself permanently established. Similarly, his relative Lh'sen u Ah'med, although he still shuttles to and from the mountains.

Âddi u Moh'ammed n-a. Umzil (55 years old) has been at Ilutjan as khammès since his youth. One day he married a woman from Ilutjan and acquired some lands at the place. He nevertheless returns to the mountains each year in order to buy walnuts.

His relative Âli u Moh'ammed (50 years old), who similarly married at Ilutjan, lost his wife and has been married again to a compatriot. But he has kept some lands at Ilutjan, where he is permanently established.

166 This report, made on the spot by L. Robine, who should indeed find here an expression of my gratitude, gives information on about a dozen individual cases. The same inquiry, carried out at Tafttacht in Chyâd'ma, gives another nuance: that of people naturalized earlier in a foreign tribe, but still preserving more or less this landed and sentimental tie with the village of origin.

However that may be, and even being a matter of the limited sector at the outlet of the Seksawa in the Dir, this emigration, thus fixed at different moments of age and antiquity, does not fail to illustrate the essential mobility -- arrivals and departers -- of the population in the western Haut-Atlas. But this mobility modifies neither the basic rhythms nor structures.

Improving the Ground

241 The a. Mh'nd ground, in relation to the rest of the valley agriculture, constitutes quite a strong unit, as the figures below prove: cereal cultivation, irrigated, barley, 50 ha. -- maize, 25 ha.; dry, barley, 32 ha. Arboriculture: 1,590 almond trees
[233] irrigated, 5,750 dry; 2,230 walnut trees. Let us add a stock of 195
[556] bovines, 470 ovines, 720 goats. Sign of affluence: 14 mules.

241 To each of these activities, irrigated crops, dry crops, live-
233 stock breeding, correspond organized sectors, among which some

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./

241 233 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm, and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

233 221 [361] [184] From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters, one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder, mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig^{w}mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 311 [243] [132] If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing, 311 [103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^{w}mrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umlil̈n, Anrar^{w}-Waman, Naâtjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Agersili]

/197 cont./

242 241 [184] The second striking trait, and which has already been indicated, is that at Agersili, as in a. Mh'nd, and only there, the area is judged sufficient in order for a crop rotation dealing with barley and maize, but accessorily also with the turnip, to be practiced. On one of our tables we have entered indications gathered over a five-year cycle. That is not very long. But, cross-checked with the local tradition, very affirmative on this point of technique, this rotation may be considered as established. There comes out very clearly a two-part cadence, the classic Mediterranean rotation, with intercalation, if I may venture to say it, of a six-month fallowing: everywhere else, in effect, two campaigns, one of maize, the other of barley, are superposed in the same year. Besides the relative size of the available land, the delay on the cultivation of barley that the annual snowfall imposes at Agersili is perhaps responsible for this slackening of the agricultural rhythm. It seems, however, that there is nothing to that. Another mountain ground, in the Aziwal, practices late sowings (March). Elsewhere, on the contrary, at the same altitude, one sows at the usual time, that is, before the snow falls. That is notably the case for the a. Mh'nd.

242 233 Let us add that, in summer, the harvest of barley and the milking of the animals, which then feed plentifully on the stubble fields, provoke a general displacement: short in terms of the distance covered, but important because it concerns not only the herd but also the families. They establish themselves in the two villages of dry stone that we have observed. The disposition of the crops in continuous soles makes this grazing place possible. In return, the herd fertilizes the earth.

242 The system is thus well contrived. Its size helping, and also the privileged character that it draws from its belonging to the victorious village of Usikis, the most prestigious of the Idma villages, one can recognize in it a veritable classicism of montagnard agriculture.

[Ibuban]

/207 cont./

133 [137] dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below" 233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, especially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes 423 613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of 166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of 432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase. But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in the Ilikri.

312 [242] Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example), a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then 241 liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for the storm, rrâda, which in general at the end of August marks the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

[Bulʿwân]
[Taqennurt]

/214 cont./

b) Taqennurt

613
423
241

Fuq Bulʿwân is a ground that includes 141 very unequal parcels, 100 of them exiguous and 4 spacious. If one adds this number to that of Taqennurt, one obtains a figure of some /215/ 220 parcels for a total area of approximately 55 ha. That is, an average area of about 20 ares per parcel. A considerable figure in relation to the horticulture upstream: almost tenfold. It implies a cereal economy, with animal tillage with two beasts. In fact, Bulʿwân and Taqqenurt together count nearly 200 bovines. Here the hoe is used only to finish the work around the foot of the trees.

[492]
[233]
[412]

Other verifications result from the parceling.

Names of ikhs-s	Number having rights	Number of parcels at Bulʿwân	Number of parcels at Taqennurt	Total of the parcels
a. Lkhil	2	21	13	34
a. Lmchari	6	13	5	18
a. Sidi Ghânem	10	32	2	34
a. Belh'ajj	1	3		3
a. H'mmo u Jâa	2	2	4	6
a. H'mmo u Qeddur	2	3	1	4
a. Si Mh'nd	7	17	7	24
Ichkajen	4	12	1	13
a. Wah'man	1	2	1	3
a. Benjâa	5	8	1	9
a. Naçr	1	1		1
a. Ussttif	1	1		1
a. Bihi u Sâid	2	5		5
a. Wammern	2	10	5	15
a. Sâid	3	7	1	8
a. Bella u H'lid'	1	1		1
a. Wanz'id'	1	1		1
a. Bihi u H'lid'	3	1	7	8
a. Waferyad'	2		8	8
a. Alla u Rujmâ	1		2	2
a. Jâa Ukʷays	2		2	2
a. Lqorchi	1		1	1
a. Leanayt	6	3	4	7
a. Wârab	3		6	6
Ih'ançalen	2		3	3
a. Bihi u Ali	2		6	6
Total: 26 ikhs-s	70	143	80	223

/10 cont./

132 usually so easy in the plains, are cut off by the smallest gullies.
[133] In other winters, on the contrary, the cisterns remain empty and the atmosphere retains a pitiless limpidity from October to
132 March. The importance of annual variations in the total rain-
241 fall is such, and the distribution of rain so capricious, that outside of valleys fertilized by springs or the water from mountain torrents one cannot expect to obtain good harvests more than one time out of five. Every five years, every ten years at the
[731] most, several bad harvests follow one another and give rise to famine. When finally it happens that the cisterns have not been filled and the springs are drying up, men and flocks must abandon their territory for several months. So one sees each family try to acquire, in the vicinity of the séguias /conduits for supplying and distributing water/ descending from the mountains, a few tiny fields, cultivated with care, abundantly manured, whose three small annual harvests, always certain, will at least permit escaping the famine.

132 The Sous, not very favorable for the development of a sed-
• 233 entary life because of the irregularity and insufficiency of rain, nevertheless does not offer the nomads the vast open spaces necessary for their flocks. A forest thinly sown with argan trees covers part of the plains and hills near the Atlantic, and the stretches free for the course of the tribes are too small for pastoralists. The wandering peoples coming from the desert, who have invaded the valleys several times in the course of history, have not been able to stay there and preserve the nomadic life. Rebuffed by the sedentary people settled in the vicinity of the springs and séguias and whose cultivated lands extend all around or diminish, according to whether the year seems propitious or unfavorable to them, they have scattered /11/ or have adapted to the precarious life of the agriculturalists of the Sous.

132 V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the moun-
133 tains. -- The obstacle furnished by the mountains to the winds from the Atlantic, loaded with the greatly desired rain, changes noticeably the regularity of the climate. The two great parallel

/16 cont./

133 491 [492] more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the women, children, and flocks.

• [233] [438] The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiérs of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In * [634] [578] [437] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 628 [487] [438] On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They [184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
[574] small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one receives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/131 cont./

*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
[361] caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[342] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqaddem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom
[671] that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
[171] brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
-233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/132 cont./

221 one will see men, women, children, flocks assemble in order to
233 go to live in the pastures of the high summits two months of complete freedom, far from the casbahs, the kaids, and the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 The only fear of the montagnards is that foreigners may
*631 come to disturb the life of their cantons, that they may be in-
177 troduced into the country by means of disputes -- whose fre-
578 quency sometimes seriously risks disturbing the regular course of the institutions, and that they may cause their small state to be included in the vast possessions of a great chief; so every ambitious man soon becomes suspect; one who through his speech or his actions rises above the council is in fact the same one who would go away tomorrow to ask for support in a neighboring casbah and would lead the "harka of the Makhzen" up to the outskirts of the villages; it is thus fitting for him to die so that the country may keep its independence. The dagger, poison, or a fortunate accident promptly puts an end to his imprudent acts.

*631 /133/ V. The Haut-Atlas before the development of the
175 power of the great chiefs. -- These simple and anarchic customs,
178 which are no longer observed at present except in the vicinity of the summits, were a short time ago those of a large part of the mountains. Sixty years ago, the oldest old men can easily still tell us, a large number of small autonomous republics passionately attached to the preservation of their liberty crowded around the peaks of the Tichka and Igdad and remained faithfully attached to their oligarchic constitutions. The great lords of today, whose knowledgeable policy of intervention has greatly reduced the extent of the country remaining free, were then only chiefs without importance. Among the Mtougga it was the minor kaids of the family of the Aït Mousa who, ceaselessly threatened by the powerful ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, engaged all their efforts in obscure clan struggles, at the very gates of Bouaboud; similarly, the Gontafi was only a simple sheik from the Oued Nefis, subject, as were his like from the valley, to a kaid settled at the edge of the Jebel Kik in the casbah of Agergour, several hours' march from Marrakech.

/191 cont./

616 594 *634 628 535 [533] is handed down from father to son. The "Alt Teskawin" never dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] [178] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 574 584 571 582 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associations, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite; in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 *634 311 241 ■233 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/ summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/192 cont./

616 height of summer. These reasons suffice to create important
*634 exchanges: the flocks of the Seksawa descend to the plains in
311 autumn, those of the Mzouda, Dwiran, and Gedmiwa go up to-
241 ward the summits at the end of spring. But each man trusts only
•233 his leff brothers in order to obtain protection for his property if
[443] war happens to break out. This exchange movement is further accentuated by the attraction exerted on the high valleys by the souks /sooks/ at the foot of the great chain, where the manufactured products that in our day have become indispensable in
616 the life of the montagnards abound. Thus the preponderant role
*634 that the small centers of the Dir where the Makhzen /makhzan/ rules as master are coming to play in the life of the most remote cantons of the high mountains is easily explained. Through the interaction of the leffs, which governs the political and economic relations, cantons like Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, at the foot of the mountains, associated in the leff of the "Imsifern" with the Aït Tigidar of the Asif el Mal and with Adouz of the tribe of the Dwiran, are in fact seen to prosper. Likewise, among the "Indghertit," the canton of Dar Akimah, on the Asif el Mal, in the plains, is politically united with those of the Ind Maghous and Aït Haddiyous. Sometimes the same chain of alliances crosses all the Atlas and thus binds the leff of the "Imsifern" on the north versant to that of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" on the south versant, as it happens, on the high summits, by the agency of the Aït Tiksit and the Tigouga, who are united with the Igoudachen and the inhabitants of Talekjont. Besides, it is natural that the "taqbilt" of the high mountains establish their alliances and their economic relations toward one or the other of the two plains. Thus it can happen that political events that took place on the north versant of the Atlas affect, by the chain of leffs, rather slightly, it is true, the life of the fractions on the south versant.

*631 We shall tell later how these plains arrival-points of the
*634 mountain leffs have been chosen by chiefs who are independent or
616 allied with the Makhzen /makhzan/ in order to exercise political
[178] action on the distant cantons. The consequence of their efforts, however, has often been the weakening of the ancient institution

/311 cont./

175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen, Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the last independent fractions of the inaccessible summits grouped around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political re-
•233 lations with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the
[361] inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements approved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force, now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, possessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is
[431] celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival, "his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

241 Kensous (674), and Ida Oultit (726-729) carry out intensive agricul-
[101] ture, with every possible patch of ground being cultivated. Irriga-
[132] tion and terracing are both highly developed. In the lower moun-
tains wheat, barley, figs, other fruits, and vegetables are all culti-
vated, with barley the staple product and food. In the higher moun-
tains, bordering on 7000 feet, wheat is entirely replaced by rye and
• 233 barley. Farming is everywhere supplemented by animal husbandry.
184 The farmers of the lower mountains and of the mountain valleys,
[241] where pasturage is scarce and poor, keep mostly cattle and goats,
which are tended by the women and children. In the high moun-
tains sheep become dominant, and double-transhumance (see
below) appears; the range of migration is much smaller than among
the Beraber, however. The herds are customarily tended by hired
shepherds, though during the summer displacement parts of fami-
lies may accompany them to the high pastures – the remainder
staying in the villages to tend the summer crops. Transhumance is
[221] not generally practiced by the mountain Shluh, however, because
of the scarcity of adquate pasturage (Adam, 1951, figs. 1-6, 16, 18-19
26; Dresch, 1939, pp. 29-56; Great Britain, 1919, p. 162; Johns
Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 64-66; Joly, et al, 1959, pp. 82-83,
fig. 40; Madras, 1948, pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16; Mercanton, 1944, p. 20;
Montagne, 1930, pp. 47-48; 1930, pp. 48-56, 58, figs. 18-22;
Robichez, 1948, pp. 16-31).

13 West and south of the mountains the country of the Shluh be-
241 comes increasingly arid and agriculture increasingly difficult. The
argan tree zone lying along the coast between Essaouirá (Mogador)
and Ifni, including the Sous valley, illustrates this clearly. Consist-
[101] ing of low valleys occasionally bisected by small rivers and covered
with argan trees, it is occupied by such groups as the Haha (530-
541), Ida Outanane (542-545), Ammeln (685), Ait Massa (702), and
241 Ait Oultit (726-729). Agriculture, held above subsistence with
difficulty and partly dependent upon an elaborate irrigation system,
is based primarily upon the cultivation of vegetables, olives, wheat,
233 and barley (the last two being largely dry farmed). Goats constitute
the dominant livestock, thriving on the nuts of the argan tree,
whose branches they climb. Some of the Arabic-speaking tribes
along the Sous keep cattle, sheep, and camels, but pasturage is
generally not sufficient to permit this else-
where.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first